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REPORT ON INSTRUCTION IN POLITICAL SCIENCE IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

PORTION OF PRELIMINARY REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ON INSTRUCTION IN GOVERNMENT

At the annual business meeting of the Association held at Buffalo in December, 1911, it was voted "that a committee of seven members be appointed to consider the methods of teaching and studying governments now pursued in American schools, colleges and universities, and to suggest means of enlarging and improving such instruction." The following members were appointed by the president to constitute this committee: George H. Haynes, Worcester Polytechnic Institute; James A. James, Northwestern University; Mabel Hill, Billerica, Massachusetts, Frank E. Horack, State University of Iowa; F. C. Jacoby, Oklahoma City, and Jesse B. Davis, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

With Professor Haynes as chairman, the work of the committee was begun by making a careful survey of the activities of other organizations which are interested in political science instruction. Among such organizations, particular attention was given to the discussions and reports of the American Historical Association, the National Municipal League and the National Education Association, as well as the report on secondary schools by the committee of five of the American Political Science Association. The purpose of the appointment of the committee was brought to the attention of the various societies of history teachers throughout the country, and drafts of questionnaires were prepared for the investigation of secondary schools and elementary schools. Professor Haynes resigned from the committee in December, 1912, and in January, 1913, the present chairman was appointed. On taking up the work as thus far carried on, the chairman found that Messrs. Jacoby and Davis, on account of the press of other duties, desired to be relieved of the work which the investigations would involve. These vacancies were filled by the appointment of Professors J. Lynn Barnard, School of Pedagogy, Philadelphia, and W. L. Fleming, Louisiana State University.

The activities of the committee during the year were directed along three lines: (1) an investigation of courses in political science offered in colleges and universities; (2) a brief letter of inquiry regarding the status of instruction in elementary and secondary schools; and (3) an inquiry regarding the aid and encouragement given to instruction in civics by state departments of education. The committee is prepared to present data only on the first of these three lines of inquiry. A preliminary report dealing with instruction in political science in colleges and universities is presented at this time to indicate more fully the present status of instruction in this field and to give a better opportunity for the asso-

Hours and number of institutions offering each subject*

SUBJECT	TOTAL HOURS	INSTITUTIONS
United States constitutional history	14,076	160
English constitutional history	12,298	144
Total	26,374	
1. Constitutional Law	4446	63
2. American Government		
National, state and local	10,809	168
National	2,786	39
National, state, local and municipal . . .	1,488	20
State and local	2,520	40
State, local and municipal	504	9
Municipal government	5,938	91
3. General political science	8,646	141
4. Comparative government	10,089	138
English government	2,334	34
5. International law	8,191	151
6. Diplomacy	3,840	49
7. Jurisprudence	3,291	55
8. Roman law	1,158	17
9. Political theories	3,120	43
10. Party government	2,030	42
11. Colonial government	1,218	22
12. Commercial law	2,488	42
13. Legislative methods and procedure	1,590	23
14. Seminar	786	37

* This table is based on data from 458 colleges and universities. It is impossible to present the complete table herewith. Arrangements are pending for the publication of the preliminary report of the committee with full list of tabulations. The details regarding the gathering of data and tables are omitted and the conclusions and tentative recommendations only are presented.

ciation to discuss the few recommendations which the committee ventures to offer.

Data for the report has been gathered chiefly from college catalogues and from a form of questionnaire submitted to about 500 institutions of collegiate grade. The members of the committee, with the very cordial aid and coöperation of ten members of the general committee, through questionnaires have secured returns from approximately 200 institutions and have examined the annual catalogues of about 500 institutions. So far as courses in political science have been discovered, they are noted in the table which is included as an appendix to the report. Recognizing that the results obtained are far from complete, the committee begs leave to present some of the data thus far collected and to offer a few tentative recommendations.

The committee is fully aware of the fact that many limitations beset any effort to present tables of courses offered in colleges and universities. The data is presented, however, despite many misgivings regarding both its accuracy and completeness, with the end in view of indicating roughly the relative distribution of time and emphasis given to various phases of the subject as indicated in the announcement of courses in college bulletins. From this standpoint the tabulations give a fairly definite idea of both the nature and content of the courses now offered in government in colleges and universities.

Courses and hours for the following subjects are included in the table:

1. United States constitutional history.
2. English constitutional history.
3. Constitutional law (chiefly United States).
4. American government.
 - a. National.
 - b. State and local.
 - c. Municipal.
5. General political science (courses based on volumes such as Garner, Leacock, and Gettell).
6. Comparative government.
 - a. General.
 - b. English.
7. International law.
 - a. General.
 - b. Diplomacy.
8. Jurisprudence.
 - a. Elements of law.
 - b. Roman law.

9. Political theories—based on works such as Dunning and Merriam.
10. Party government.
11. Colonial government.
12. Commercial law.
13. Legislative methods and legislative procedure.
14. Seminar.

CONCLUSIONS BASED ON THE TABLES

According to the number of courses announced, the colleges and universities may be roughly grouped as follows:

1. Institutions which announce no courses.....	122
2. Institutions which announce courses equivalent to less than 150 hours. (Slightly more than one course of three hours for a year)	161
3. Institutions which announce courses equivalent to more than 150 hours.....	175
Total.....	458

When it is recognized that 122 colleges and universities offer no work, at least so separately designated, in any of the courses listed in the committee's report, that 161 institutions offer courses totalling less than 150 hours, and consequently may be classed as not recognizing Political Science as deserving of a place in the curriculum as a distinct department, that 175 institutions give sufficient attention to the subject to recognize the department, and that only 38 out of this number separate the department of political science from history, economics, sociology, ethics or philosophy, it may well be asked whether the colleges are equipped either to train for citizenship or to prepare for the professions which require an intimate knowledge of governmental affairs. The demands of an awakened social conscience and the weighty responsibilities cast upon the electorate through the spread of direct democracy would seem to require greater consideration for the group of subjects comprised under political science than is now given in any but a small percentage of colleges and universities.

A large number of institutions which either offer no courses or announce less than 150 hours is made up of women's colleges, colleges of mines, agricultural colleges, schools of technology, and small denominational colleges, in some instances with less than one hundred students in the undergraduate department of arts and sciences. Women's colleges it

may be claimed are not likely to have any special demand for instruction in government and political affairs, and consequently there are good reasons for excluding this group of subjects from the ordinary woman's college. However, not a few of the large colleges for women have found sufficient interest and enthusiasm in public affairs to offer some very thorough courses in political institutions. In some notable instances the colleges for women have given a recognition to these courses which many of the colleges for men might well emulate. There scarcely seems to be any justification today for the entire omission of courses in government from any college for women which has an undergraduate department of collegiate grade. One instructor who recently introduced three courses noted that, while he hesitated to give these courses "because of the fear that the young women would not take interest in such things," the results were very gratifying. There are many indications that courses in Political Science have rightly made their way into the colleges for women, and the time is apparently not far distant when those in charge of colleges of this type will give matters relating to government much greater consideration.

Colleges of mines, agricultural colleges, and schools of technology form a group under which the courses offered must be scientific and practical. These schools are primarily designed to prepare for one of the professions or vocations and there seems to be neither time nor occasion to give attention to such an impractical matter as government. If one may judge from the utter neglect of the study of political affairs in many such schools it seems that there is at present no recognition of the fact that the incipient miner, farmer or engineer may some day be called upon to take an interest in the affairs of his country. Nor does there seem to be any thought that it might be worth while, for but a small portion of time, to learn of the responsibilities and duties of social beings as well as of ways and means to earn a livelihood. That the miner, the farmer and the engineer should receive training along the line of their duties and responsibilities as social beings and citizens seems scarcely less imperative than that they should be trained as efficient producers. There is ample evidence that the efficient producer without a social conscience has worked much havoc and injury. If society is to be protected and its best interests conserved, the scientific, industrial and so-called practical schools must find both time and opportunity to give instruction in economics, sociology and political science. Both economics and sociology have slowly made their way into many of the technical and vocational schools. A few technical schools and agricultural colleges have introduced the

important elementary courses in government, and there is no indication that the standard of work in technology has suffered particularly because the curriculum has been enriched by courses in political and social affairs. It remains to be seen whether society as organized in its legislatures, courts and administrative agencies will become a matter of sufficient significance to be given some consideration in all of the technical schools and may be deemed worthy of more attention by that group of institutions which depend almost entirely upon the state for existence.

The small denominational schools do not have large enough faculties or enough students in the collegiate department to offer more courses in political science. For schools of this sort the students are fortunate to get a mere introduction to the study of public affairs in the departments of history and economics or perchance in the departments of Bible and philosophy. Many of the smaller colleges would find it neither advisable nor practicable to establish a separate and independent department in political science. But few of these colleges, however, offer sufficient elementary courses in government to develop a virile and aggressive citizenship. An instructor in one of the small denominational schools makes the apology that since he is obliged to teach "nearly all of the history, the economics, and much of the Bible work" he can offer only one brief course in political science. For this situation there seems to be no remedy other than the fostering of a public sentiment which will require that these institutions raise their standard by such increase of endowment as will provide for a larger faculty.

The committee approached with considerable hesitation the second object of its appointment, that of suggesting means of enlarging and improving instruction. In view of the difficulties involved in making recommendations which may be applied to the great variety of conditions to be met in the many colleges of the United States, the committee feels that a more thorough investigation should be made and a full opportunity for discussion should be afforded before final recommendations are adopted. It is of course quite evident that no standard plan of courses and no uniform method of instruction can be devised for the many types of colleges and universities. And the committee certainly disclaims any intention to prescribe a standard plan of courses in political science, which can be adopted indiscriminately by any higher institution. That something like a standard type of course has been worked out for certain groups of universities and colleges is, however, plainly evident. In accordance with the lead of some of the institutions,

the committee ventures to offer a few recommendations in its preliminary report in order to arouse discussion and to aid in the formulation of some well defined features of an advance program.

The following recommendations are presented by the committee with this end in view.

1. *That for the purpose of its report the committee considers the following courses as comprising, in the main, the scope of Political Science:*

1. American government.
 - a. National.
 - b. State and local.
 - c. Municipal.
2. General political science.
3. Comparative government.
4. Constitutional law.
5. Legislation and legislative procedure.
6. Administrative law and administrative methods.
7. Party government.
8. Colonial government.
9. International law and diplomacy.
10. Elements of law, jurisprudence and judicial procedure.
11. Political theories.
12. Constitutional history and history of political literature.

At the outset of its investigations the committee was informed on good authority that there is no such thing as political science, and as the work of examining college catalogues progressed the truth of this observation became painfully apparent. Many colleges and a few universities seem disposed to use the term in designating the group of courses offered in economics and sociology, with little or no attention given to the courses outlined above. In other instances political science is used in a very comprehensive sense, covering the group of courses offered in history, economics, politics, public law and sociology. With the exception of a tendency toward uniformity in the courses announced by a few colleges and the larger universities there is a marked lack of agreement as to the meaning of the term political science. An illustration of this is shown where an institution with courses in political science as defined by the committee offers these courses under the heading public law and administration and uses the term political science to designate courses given in economics and sociology. Whether a standard and acceptable definition of political science can be given to which

more than a few college and university instructors would subscribe is open to doubt. But however difficult it may be to define the term it is fundamental at the outset that there be an agreement as to what courses are comprehended within the field of operations of this Association. A more definite agreement as to what constitutes political science, and a more aggressive insistence on the necessity of distinguishing these courses from other groups, seems to be the first requirement to secure the recognition of political science as worthy of a place in the colleges as a distinct department.

2. That courses in political science be separated from courses in history, economics and sociology, and that colleges aim to have at least one instructor giving full time and attention to this department of instruction.

In a total of 401 institutions, the following results were obtained regarding the relation of political science to other subjects:

Departments of political science.....	38
Combined with history.....	89
Combined with economics.....	22
Combined with sociology.....	4
Combined with history and economics.....	48
Combined with economics and sociology.....	45
Combined with economics, history and sociology.....	21
Combined with philosophy.....	3
Combined with economics, history and philosophy.....	3
Combined with economics, history and English.....	4
Combined with economics and English.....	1
Combined with Latin.....	1
History, political science, and director of athletics.....	2

Combinations such as the following were made in some of the smaller institutions, the department including one or more courses in political science; history, civics, physical and moral science; English Bible, philosophy, pedagogy, sociology, and evidences of Christianity; economics, sociology, international law and Bible; exegesis, history and civics; political science, economics, philosophy and psychology; education, philosophy, religion and social science.

It is apparent from this table that very few instructors in political science give their entire time and attention to the subject. Consequently the great majority of those who offer courses in the subject are obliged to devote the major portion of their energies to another subject and to grant only an incidental interest and emphasis to courses in government. Some exceedingly valuable courses are offered, of course, under this plan and there are to be sure some advantages in the point of view that comes

from the necessity of keeping in close touch with more than one field. But recognizing that when a man offers courses in history and economics he is not thereby disqualified for the giving of political science instruction, and making due allowance for the advantage that comes from the survey of other fields, it is undoubtedly true that political science instruction will as a rule not be placed on a plane to be compared with that of other departments until colleges give that consideration to the field which will demand the full time and energy of one man, at least.

The small colleges can only set up this standard as a goal towards which to lay plans. But an increasing number of colleges are not only providing for courses which require the time of one instructor, but, as in the case of history, economics and other departments, they are providing additional instructors to take care of the increase in student enrollment and to offer courses for which there is an evident need.

Furthermore, the arrangement of combining political science with other departments requires that an instructor who has received special training almost entirely in another field must by special efforts for the purpose prepare a course along a line in which he has had no particular preparation. As a consequence much of so-called political science is either political history or the economic foundations of government. Both of these subjects are important and it is right that much attention be given to them, but political science instruction almost invariably suffers when offered by one whose primary interest and preparation is essentially in another field.

The committee does not wish to be misunderstood on this point. They regard it as eminently desirable and necessary that there be full and frank coöperation among the departments of history, economics, sociology and political science. To this end a preliminary course which would deal with the underlying principles and the primary relations between the various subjects—something in the nature of an introduction to the social and political sciences seems indispensable—or, at least, regular lectures should be given dealing with the matters of common concern in the different departments. What is desired in the recommendation is more especially that the courses in political science be first organized as a distinct group constituting a department and that an effort be made to provide that they be offered by an instructor whose interest and training specially qualify him for work in this field.

3. *That a full year's course in American government be given as the basic course for undergraduates.*

The information available to the committee sheds very little light on

the sequence of courses in different institutions. In fact, it is doubtful whether anything like a regular sequence of courses is followed in directing the election of subjects in the department. As a rule all of the courses are elective and frequently are open only to juniors and seniors. In a few instances one course is prescribed and usually one of the courses is made a prerequisite to the election of subsequent work. American government, general political science, and comparative government are the courses which are usually prescribed or are required as a prerequisite for the election of advanced courses. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the basic course should be in the field of general political science; *i.e.*, a study of *Staatslehre*, or in the comparative study of European systems, or whether the introduction to political science should come through a careful analysis of the American system of government.

On this point the committee does not desire to be dogmatic and to determine the relative merits of the different subjects as material for a basic course. A final determination on this point, if such is possible, would require a thorough and comprehensive study of the practice of many institutions. The committee has not attempted such a study and consequently has no desire to pronounce finally on the matter of the proper content of a basic course.

The committee, however, suggests the advisability of selecting American government as the basic course because it is convinced that there is an imperative need for a more thorough study of American institutions, because the opportunity for this study is not now afforded in any but a few of the best secondary schools, and because it is exceedingly important that the attention of an undergraduate be directed early in his course to a vital personal interest in his own government, national, state and local. Instruction in political science is rarely given until the second or third year of college work, and thus unless American government is selected for the first course only a small percentage of students receive encouragement and direction in the study of political affairs with which they are constantly dealing in their ordinary relations as citizens.

As in history, geography and other subjects, there is a tendency in courses in political science to deal with matters far away rather than to turn to those which are nearer home. The large amount of time and emphasis given to the study of such subjects as general political science, comparative government and international law shows that foreign affairs receive more attention than do home affairs. One is led to suspect that it is safer for political scientists to deal with political theory and with the

Prussian administrative system than it is to delve into the inefficiencies of county or city government, just as it has proved easier and more comfortable for the church to evangelize Asia than to try to reform social conditions within reach of the church door.

To create an abiding interest and an intelligent outlook in matters of political import must be the constant aim of instruction in government. For this purpose the study of both American government and comparative government is necessary, and it is probable that the most effective and useful course in American government is one which introduces by comparison European systems and practices.¹ But the committee is of the opinion that, despite the very marked increase of courses in American government within the past few years, one of the immediate needs is the further extension and enlargement of these courses. In only a few institutions is enough time given to the subject to permit anything more than the most cursory survey of the various features of the government, and almost invariably state and local government suffers in the cutting process which is necessary. About seventy institutions only give courses in which state and local government are the basis of special study. All indications are to the effect that the national government receives undue attention. Similarly, it is quite clear that legislative machinery and legislative processes are given emphasis far beyond the importance which this branch of government deserves when the actual operation of public affairs is taken into consideration. In order that state and local government shall be given more consideration, and in order that judicial procedure and administrative methods shall receive more than passing notice, it is absolutely necessary that the time allotted to American government be increased. Nothing short of a full year of at least three hours a week gives the necessary time and opportunity to do anything like full justice to the national, state and local units. For the present at least it seems clear to the committee that American government should receive primary emphasis.

4. *That the scope of comparative government be enlarged to include a study of the self-governing colonies, South American republics, and important Asiatic nations.*

It is by no means the intention of the committee in submitting this proposal that courses in political science should be spread over a wider field than is now frequently the case. If one may judge from the announcements in certain catalogues, the necessity of restricting the scope

¹ Professor Dawson thinks it is essential that European methods and practices be introduced by comparison in this basic course.

covered in order that what is done may be done thoroughly is very apparent. Such forms of announcement as the following, although not common, are discovered too frequently in college bulletins:

(1) Comparative constitutional history given for one-third of a year, five hours. "This course will include a study of the development of the fundamental political activities found among the nations of Europe and America, tracing in outline the growth and spread of modern constitutionalism through the great political revolutions of England, America and France, and concluding with a comparative survey of their modern political institutions."

(2) One hour a week is given to political science and modern history and for this work the announcement is made that "Thus the art of public address is developed, while the student becomes an original investigator in the field." In other instances colleges appear to devote a few hours for a third or a half of a year to the subject of comparative government, and by profession at least wander over the range of governmental systems, comprising the United States, England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Sweden, while a few manage to give some attention to Spain and Portugal. This Association would scarcely desire to lend its encouragement to a plan which would further dilute the type of information conveyed by this kind of course. If such were to be the result of the proposal herewith made, the Association would undoubtedly better serve the advancement of its field by advising a restriction rather than an enlargement of the field for the comparative study of governments.

With the definite understanding that it is not intended that instructors shall cover the entire political universe in the short time now allotted to comparative government, but that rather by a system of alternation in courses place be made for much neglected nations, the committee desires to urge greater consideration by political scientists for the self-governing colonies, South American republics and the great Asiatic nations. According to the notices in many catalogues the horizon for the comparative study of political institutions is confined to the four nations, England, France, Germany and the United States, which seem to be heralded not only as the political nations *par excellence* but are also regarded as having established somewhat of a "corner" on political wisdom. While there are good reasons for giving chief attention to the institutions of the above countries in the colleges and universities of the United States there is scarcely any excuse for the utter neglect and widespread ignorance which now prevails relative to such nations

as Canada, Brazil, Chili, Japan and China, and which the colleges thus far have done little to correct.

If for no other reason it would appear that for the sake of policy and expediency more attention than is now given should be accorded by the educational system of the United States to the nations which border on the north, south and west. But the modifications of the parliamentary system of government as it operates in Canada and Australia has a peculiar interest to Americans and we can no longer afford to neglect the successful forms of government to be found in the self-governing colonies. Similarly, some of the experiments being tried in the great nations of Latin America are not only very interesting but would seem to be worthy of study in college courses. The unique form of government in Japan and the laying of the foundations of constitutionalism in China are not unworthy of some attention. At any rate the committee believes that either by the addition of an extra course or by alteration an arrangement can be made by which some at least, if not all, of the great American and Oriental nations may be made the basis of courses in political science. The neglect of South America, its history, ancient civilization and modern institutions, and the inordinate misconceptions prevailing relative to Oriental life and progress, can not be overcome until the colleges and universities give a greater place in the curriculum to a study of these civilizations.

5. *That an effort be made to redistribute the emphasis in courses in government so as to give less attention proportionately to governmental structure and legislation and to devote more time and emphasis to administrative methods and law enforcement.*

So far as it is possible to judge the content of courses by the brief announcements contained in college catalogues it appears that primary consideration is given to constitutions, to administrative systems and to the organization of political parties. In the courses in American government the national government receives most attention, state government next, and then come in order local, municipal and rural. The proportionate distribution of time which results leaves but little opportunity to deal with local government and gives but scant attention to the judiciary. Not only do national governments absorb a large part of the time given to the study of government but political theory also claims a large share of time. Between what is to a large extent constitutional and administrative law on the one hand and the study of abstract theories about government on the other the judicial department and law enforcing agencies of the community have been well nigh ignored. In

view of the fact that no small part of law is made by the courts, and that the average citizen is affected most by the rules as laid down, interpreted and applied by the judiciary, it seems strange that the spectacular side of the legislative hall should have so completely diverted the attention of students of government from judicial procedure and administrative practice. An eminent lawyer has observed that "new law in Anglo-American nations has been the work of judges and their lawyers aided or interfered with only occasionally by statutory provisions." But the fact that courts bear a large part of the burden of law making, besides taking care of the whole process of law enforcement, has been very tardily recognized by instructors in government.

The judicial department has in fact received scant attention by text writers, while judicial procedure, a subject of the utmost importance, has found a place in the curriculum of only a very few institutions separate from the attention given the subject in law schools. According to one of the leading instructors in public law the whole tendency of jurisprudence today bears out the contention that more emphasis should be laid upon administrative methods and law enforcement. "Instead of devoting our whole time to the abstract justice of abstract rules we are beginning to devote our attention to the results of rules in action and the modes of making them effective in action. The reason upon which this movement is based would seem to apply equally in political science."²

6. *That instructors in political science encourage students to prepare reports and surveys on actual political conditions.*

7. *That the department of political science furnish aid and be in readiness, in equipment and spirit, to render advice to government officials not only in the making and enforcing of laws but also in extending assistance in whatever special fields the instructors in the department are competently equipped.*

Suggestions 6 and 7 may very properly be considered together. They both refer to ways and means by which the departments of political science may become interested and helpful in an effective way in local and state governmental affairs. The first suggests a method by which knowledge of political affairs may be translated into civic action by the students themselves, and the second calls attention to a responsibility which instructors in political science have been slow to recognize—that of placing the department in readiness to serve public officials. The charge has been made that while the universities, in an organized and

² From statement by Prof. Roscoe Pound.

systematic manner, blaze the way in agriculture and in many other lines they very rarely serve as laboratories and investigating outposts for the political affairs of the state. To quote the words of one of the members of the general committee of this Association, "in politics, the university investigators write books which other university men read, and meantime the practical work of government blunders on, struggling as best it can on the knowledge and experience which universities could collect."³

In answer to the inquiry as to what colleges are doing in the way of service to the community and state many instructors gave no reply; others replied that the department was doing nothing specific but was trying to be generally useful, or that service to the community was rendered not directly but indirectly in teaching students. A large number of instructors indicated that they regarded their duty to the community fulfilled in the training of future citizens. On the other hand, more than forty institutions reported a very active interest in and coöperation with the officials of the city, county and state. The form of this coöperation was along the lines of the organization of civic clubs, the making of surveys of local political conditions, the issuing of bulletins, the publication of articles in the newspapers, and the rendering of service on unpaid boards, commissions and constitutional conventions. A rather unique service was rendered by one college in the preparation of a bill for voting by mail and in the attempt by the department to stimulate public interest in the measure while it was being considered in the state legislature. The most noteworthy service of this character appears to be rendered by means of the establishment and operation of reference libraries or bureaus of information on state and municipal affairs. Although this form of library is of quite recent origin a large number of colleges and universities are now maintaining reference bureaus. This form of service seems to be more especially within the function of the state universities, but private institutions have also engaged in work of this character.⁴

Difficulties are encountered in rendering community service. The head of the department in one of the colleges reported that he tried to serve the community and then closed with the comment, "this community is like the laws of the Medes and the Persians. As evidence these

³ From statement by Chester H. Rowell.

⁴ The committee on practical training deals in a very thorough manner with the service rendered by reference libraries and other forms of public service in which members of departments of political science are engaged.

courses have been cut out by the powers." Evidently the way of the expert in political science is not always an easy one. It is more difficult perhaps than in any other line to keep to the straight and narrow path which will mean the advancement of the best interests of the community and not to become involved in the torrent of political partisanship. But the fact that service of this character is difficult, or that it may lead to trouble, is no excuse for shirking entire responsibility for that assistance and guidance which departments of political science should be equipped to give and which most communities would really appreciate.

Departments of political science are called upon to perform services of three distinct types: (1) to train for citizenship; (2) to prepare for professions, such as law, journalism, teaching and public service; (3) to train experts and to prepare specialists for government positions. For the universities a fourth group might be added including courses primarily intended to train for research work.

Universities alone can properly plan to prepare government experts, who in many instances must receive specialized instruction such as the departments of political science can offer only in part. Courses designed to prepare for research must also be left largely, if not entirely, with the universities.

The function of college instruction in politics is to train for citizenship as well as to train for the professions. In performing this function colleges too frequently confine attention almost exclusively to the theories of the origin of the state and the nature of law and sovereignty, in fact, to a consideration of abstract notions and principles which find scant place in the actual operation of governmental affairs.

Much of what is comprehended in these abstract discussions is based upon theories of law and jurisprudence which modern publicists are prone to condemn. However, it is very gratifying to find a marked increase in the attention to *Staatslehre*, to state-theory in contrast with state-practice. The history of political ideas, as well as wrangling over such terms as sovereignty, liberty and law, ought to be encouraged rather than discouraged. But there are indications that political science, in some quarters at least, has been too strictly confined to theories about civil society and has been too little concerned with political affairs as they are. Students of politics like those of other fields have been inclined to philosophize and work out abstract principles rather than to search laboriously the records and activities of society in its myriad and complex operations. It is not proposed that less attention be given to political theory for this subject eminently deserves the emphasis given

it, as a rule, in college courses, but it is rather proposed that the work in political science be expanded so as to complement the theory and the abstract discussions with greater consideration of the actual working of political institutions.

Political science is scarcely old enough, particularly as pursued in the United States, to take on the full stature of a well developed science. The catalogues of our larger universities prior to 1890 seldom recognized political science as a department but announced a few courses in government under the divisions history or political economy. It is slightly more than thirty years ago that the first schools of political science were opened. And the fact that this Association is in its eleventh year indicates the recent emergence of the subject from a position of relative obscurity in relation to other departments. In view of the short time the study of government has received any attention or recognition from college authorities the present status of the subject is not discouraging. The widespread interest in the subject and the rapid expansion of courses in the higher institutions is nothing short of remarkable. But much remains to be accomplished to give instruction in government a rightful place in many institutions which now ignore the matter entirely. The character of some instruction that passes under the title needs to be considerably improved to be worthy of more consideration by men of affairs. And some readjustments of emphasis and proportions must be made in political science to keep pace with the rapid strides in other branches within the general group of social sciences.

The data gathered by the committee is presented in a preliminary way and in fragmentary form. Problems are raised and difficulties encountered as the laying of ground for more definite conclusions to follow. Mindful of the limited range of its survey the committee offers what data it has with a few recommendations. It is hoped that these will serve to arouse discussion and to bring matters to a focus, so that before a final report is prepared some definite and well matured conclusions may be formulated and advanced with the united support of the Association. In the meantime more information must be gathered relative to the training of teachers now offering political science, to the time given to other subjects, and to other lines of inquiry which affect the efficiency of instruction in the field. Furthermore, the sequence of courses should be considered; which should be regarded as elementary; which advanced, and which reserved for graduate departments. Finally the entire field of secondary and elementary school instruction must be exhaustively investigated. These and other matters of vital signifi-

cance would seem to warrant the continuance of the committee, or the appointment of other committees, to carry on the investigations so far only begun and to formulate a plan of campaign for the improvement of instruction in political science from elementary school to college.

Respectfully submitted by the committee:

CHARLES G. HAINES, *Whitman College, Chairman,*
J. LYNN BARNARD, *School of Pedagogy, Philadelphia,*
EDGAR DAWSON, *Normal College, New York,*
MABEL HILL, *Dana Hall, Wellesley, Massachusetts,*
F. E. HORACK, *State University of Iowa,*
J. A. JAMES, *Northwestern University,*
W. L. FLEMING, *Louisiana State University.*

DISCUSSION

Prof. E. M. Sait spoke briefly of the importance of student organizations in connection with the formal work of political instruction. He called attention to the work being done by the Intercollegiate Civic League, and by the individual clubs in various universities which constitute the members of this league. These clubs have undertaken, in many cases, independent investigations of political questions, and have not only aroused the interest of their members, but have done work of concrete value in their communities.

Dr. Arthur W. Dunn, chairman of the committee on civic education of the National Municipal League, called the attention of the Association to the work of the Georgia Club, which has established county branches in the greater number of Georgia counties, and has stimulated very materially the interest in local government, social and economic problems in that State. A detailed account of the Georgia Club will be found in Bulletin No. 23 of United States Bureau of Education for 1913.

Hon. P. P. Claxton, commissioner of education, commented upon the emphasis which the previous speakers had placed upon the need for practical instruction in government, and spoke of the importance, here as elsewhere, of the principle of learning by doing. Mr. Claxton said that the bureau of education would be glad to do anything in its power to aid the investigation undertaken by the Association's committee.

Professor Dealey in substance spoke as follows:

I wish to express my hearty appreciation of the excellent report made through the chairman of the committee. If the committee will con-

tinue its studies in the same thorough manner, the final report will make an epoch in movements for civic education. I am especially interested in the two addresses urging a broad civic training in the grades and in the secondary schools. In place of the three "r's" of a century ago, teachers in the elementary schools are now urged to emphasize applications of the three "s'es," namely; science, psychology and civics; as the result of which we may expect in the future a better trained and more capable citizenship. Teachers for these schools come largely from normal schools which should in consequence train their pupils so as to satisfy the demand for civic instruction. High school teachers come mostly from the colleges, which, therefore, must furnish definite instruction in the social sciences, so that students may be able to comprehend the social, economic and political movements about them.

In closing, Professor Dealey explained some of the practical methods used in the teaching of political science at Brown University.

Professor Clyde L. King said:

I think all teachers of political science will agree that it is their first business to teach.

The subject that they are to teach is government. If political science is to be so taught as to have its greatest value, emphasis must be placed on actual government, not the form of government.

The structure of government, the subject that has taken up so largely the time of political science teachers in the past, is of interest only because it is the machinery through which acts are made legal and valid. The thing being done, therefore, not the machinery by which it is simply made valid, is the important thing.

If government is to be taught in a way to have interest to the student at the time and value to him in his later life, it must stress actual government; and the significant factors in actual government are the law-creating and not the law-making forces. This takes attention from the structural plan of government, therefore, to public opinion, to the power of tradition, to the place and influence of the political party and other civic associations, to the groups that make demands on government, to how those demands are expressed, and to the forces and agencies by which those demands are brought before legislative, executive and judicial bodies, and only incidentally to the final machinery through which these forces find formal expression.

It is easy enough to say that our new constitutions are "new fangled;" it is more difficult to get the student to see exactly the forces that have led the people to write into their fundamental laws so many statutory provisions. It is easy enough to characterize the present situation as that of a "mob led by a demagogue," and to say that we should have government by those "selected to lead;" it is difficult to get the student

to grasp the processes of the social mind so as to get the significance of the vital evolution toward government that is now going on.

To my mind, therefore, the question as to what amount of time should be placed on federal, or local, or state government is a matter of the location of the institution, and of the interests of the student body. In certain institutions and among certain classes of students, greater human interest would, no doubt, be aroused through the study of local and of federal government; in other places, in municipal and state governments. Whether the course treat of federal, or state or municipal government, therefore, is not of such great importance as that the teacher emphasize the forces in actual government and lead the students' minds from the formal thing to the creative thing.

The teacher has long been told that his main function was to "set the pupil's heart right." It is his equal function to "set the student's facts right." Now the only person at all qualified to teach the actual facts as to government, it seems to me, is the one who has been, himself, a part of the creative forces that make government. He who reads from the text-book and repeats what is in the text-book without having lived through what the processes of government really mean will never make a teacher worthy of the student, be the student in the grades, in the high school or the university.

The fundamental business of the teacher of political science is to train for citizenship, and no one is trained for citizenship who does not have his mind taken from the formal things in government to the actual things. This can be done only by the teacher who is himself a factor in government processes.

For these reasons, I wish to emphasize the recommendations made by the committee that in letter and in spirit, the teacher of political science aid governmental officials not only in making but also in enforcing laws, and more particularly still in the expert service for the official and community in whatever fields the instructor is qualified. Only through such service as this can the teacher develop a sense of what are the living creative factors in his subject.

Dr. Arthur W. Dunn, Secretary of the National Municipal League's committee on civic education, spoke to the following effect:

The problem of whether national or local government should be treated first would take care of itself, or rather there would be no such problem, if the subject of civics were approached properly through function and not through mechanism. An illustration is found in a recitation that actually occurred in a grammar school class in which the subject of what the community does to protect the health of each individual was under discussion. The children had brought out the dangers in health to community life, the dependence of each individual upon others, the necessity for coöperation and the function of government as a means by which the people should coöperate for the protection of their health. After mentioning a number of local health functions of the community,

one child remarked that the board of health passes pure food laws. This was immediately disputed by another child, and the question of national activity in behalf of pure food was immediately injected into the discussion. The point is that in a single recitation national and local activity and machinery were discussed in their relations to each other and in their relations to the life of the child. If pure food had happened to be mentioned first, the national activity would have been discussed first.

In regard to the question that has been raised of how to stimulate the interest of students in what they receive in the class room, and to relate in their minds the facts of real life to their class room instruction, it might be helpful if we could be less anxious about interesting the pupil in what we give in the class room and give more attention to giving in the the class room what is of vital interest to the pupils.

The college teacher is face to face with a real problem in that the students who come to him are not really prepared for the courses in political science. The college teacher therefore has a real interest in what the secondary and elementary schools are doing. The best kind of preparation of the younger pupil for his college work, however, is not an elementary course in political science, but a course of training that will cultivate the qualities of good citizenship and that will stimulate his interest in the community functions that are performed through the agency of government. Then when he comes to his college course, he may have a real motive for the more technical matter usually presented to him.

Prof. E. M. Sait of Columbia University said:

Professor Dealy has emphasized the desirability of combining concrete experience with class-room work in government; and in some of those who have come under his inspired guidance—as Professor McCarthy, who is with us today—give ever-present support to his view. I also have entertained the same feeling. There is one very good reason why we should pursue this course. Many observers have remarked that American students, as distinguished from English or French or Russian students, give very little attention to their subjects of instruction outside the class-room. They do not commonly discuss these subjects seriously among themselves; they do not give them much independent thought. When the bell rings at the end of the hour, the undergraduate enters a different world; his mind turns to other preoccupations, such as baseball, the Junior “prom.” According to his code there would be something verging on the improper in carrying the influences of the class-room with him. It would hardly occur to him to discuss with his fellows the problem of “log-rolling” or the national budget.

We have got to teach our students how to think; and that is one reason why I feel so deep an interest in the functions of our civic clubs. Seven years ago the Intercollegiate Civic League was founded. Largely through the devotion of Mr. R. Bayard Cutting, it has expanded to

include active clubs in some sixty colleges. These groups are not avowedly adjuncts of the departments of political science as a rule; but they do greatly promote interest in these departments. In the bi-weekly or monthly meetings, vital questions which have been suggested in the classes come up for informal discussion. Members of the faculty, or politicians, or selected students consider such questions in all their practical bearings; everyone is encouraged to participate afterwards. An intimate observation of these clubs, spread over some five years, persuades me that no better instrument can be found to break down that curious reserve which makes our students feel almost ashamed to turn serious attention outside the class-room to the things which are supposed to form a part of their education and their preparation for citizenship.

Here we have a problem of some magnitude: how to make the things which we teach really count; how to make the lecture fructify in thought and discussion. Is not the civic club, in which the student so readily interests himself, a solution conveniently at hand? Would it not help to break down the elaborate barriers which the student has erected about his extra-curricular life? And if it can provide the solution, does not something of an obligation rest upon us to employ it?